1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[p. v]

PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals.

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16.

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γιουσούμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[1] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

[1] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The family and the life it are both to me divinely
confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

181 182 233 59

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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him.

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming

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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

182 577 771 156 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent' (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 578 776 771 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives, an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 577 771 829 When all this is said there remains an opposition between Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

121 /3 cont./
orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved
[221] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 182 361 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 182 194 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

* * *

174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

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361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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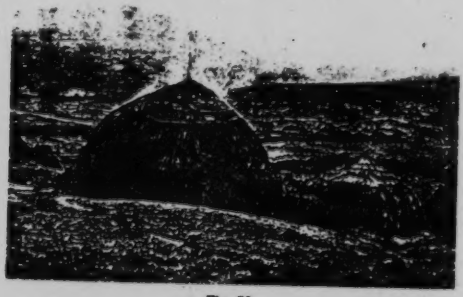


Fig. 78

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 177 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Eurasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their [191] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/121 cont./

105 182 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study successively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/126 cont./

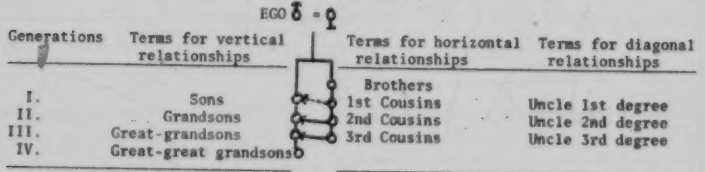
582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 582 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System



the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 613 173 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [191] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] [182] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 602 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] [414] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 174 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 178 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct. However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 182 (613) /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman, [593] [562] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 585 562 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number of facts.

First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing [533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:

[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] [602] [539] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/138 cont./

that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions: the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter. Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/141 cont./

848 842 We believe that the true justification for this suppression resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the [833] [602] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 574 [431] Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the newborn child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 852 848 182 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 602 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 578 602 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

[593]
[152]
[182]

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion. For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/148 cont./

Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival, so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/ arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

--O wife! May you have sons
So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it and make the best of it.

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
404 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434
[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
404 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
689 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
431 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
182 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
404 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
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/182 cont./

474 596 675 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 182 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113]

55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-31ff.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

[474] Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

619 /186 cont./
474 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
596 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
594 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth, the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
187 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./

619 182 184 596 594 474 [613] existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside. The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage), and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. [177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 182 184 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 596 594 474 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

(494) As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
(675) between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

(177) The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally,
constitutes the organization of this society.

(494) The relations between these different organizations reflect the
(182) relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
474

(571) This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/190 cont./

474 182 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 433 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tséligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 439 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not unmindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/214 cont./

626 627 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple disparagement?" (31)

692 31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 692 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 671 182 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

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627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

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627 686 689 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

627 692 182 626 After this general survey we may conclude:

First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 694 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as (128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

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682 629 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 627 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

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33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

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Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

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Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

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181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

597 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

[191] Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
597 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

[684] If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

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121 671 681 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

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121 671 681 182 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

676 Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

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671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
(627) They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

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577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

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577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

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577 (182) Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

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/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

(867) Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to (626) morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

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law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

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PART THREE

/245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1) could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

2. See above, Chapter III.

In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p.-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [342] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

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789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

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121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

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121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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182 554 596 788 families and the Tsoligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

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789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

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771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Cnristian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [191] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/330 cont./

796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

791 811 177 [773] [789] This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
191 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

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782 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the
182 attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may
771 be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. ϙϠϛ'), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolegomena, p. 84.

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764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so
[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of
[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may
[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take
[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate of representation which determines magic action.

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall, however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity, according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani, as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

/339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 989 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [594] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 476 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/346 cont./

Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ′ f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kólyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoúdia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

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121

> prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[181] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

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--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, itis impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

182 596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

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182 596 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are 182 596 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception: it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And 474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 581 582 602 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group, to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 602 562 [596] Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 [2]1 602 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the [illegible]

[571] [471] [435] 4 Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.

182 596 562 428 583 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not even have the right to a dowry.

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[562] even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which 182 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 way the work is divided. 291 261 181 Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 291 261 181 /382 cont./
in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among women).

182 671 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism, 182 671 681 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions; that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal [626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand, 182 599 181 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition, family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

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182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is

both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, 182 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain 812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal 789 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have 755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. (989) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
955 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

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182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents
233 the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes
596 concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

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182 596 [233] [464] [233] its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock. In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 602 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable, ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation, extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add [233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we shall come back to that.

182 562 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
62 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
(181) of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/390 cont./

182 121 conditions and ideas and, of course, all that each of them in turn represents of underlying phenomena.

121 The final synthesis that we sought from the beginning is just this moving, living, dynamic and supremely significant chain.

Although conceived on the level of the individual and the fundamental social ideas of the Sarakatsani, it does not reduce the social reality to the cognitive or the "cultural," but corresponds to the total social phenomenon. It is true to the following discerning remark by G. Gurvitch that: "Society is within us and we are in /391/ society," and, what is more, to the very principles of anthropology.

Lastly, in a final image, this chain evokes the over-all configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture, the parts of which we have presented somewhat like a mosaic in the preceding chapters, and which we now restore to its inner unity by casting a little light on its articulations.

We shall wait to define this configuration in what follows.

As for the explanation, we believe that the picture of the correlation of ideas, conditions and concerns is so eloquent that specific comments are unnecessary. Of course, this applies to the explanation of the "whole." But there is more.

The same picture explains the formation of its parts, of the principle links of the chain, namely, how the fundamental ideas were adopted, how social man decided in favor of them, forced by certain conditions. However, in this connection it is essential to be specific.

When we speak of fundamental concerns which are transformed into motivations for action and into needs felt by the Sarakatsani, and of natural objective conditions, we consider neither the one nor the other as outside the Sarakatsani social framework properly speaking. Thanks to

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] [829] [496] [991] [181] 0918 121 182 Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean culture area.

However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/393 cont./

121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 191 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

/396 cont./

171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

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578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 629 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tseligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 121 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 591 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 182 155 622 183 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[519] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
701 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
695 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

678 675 182 121 to the Marxist theory. (3)

3. On the different meanings of the term alienation in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol. II, pp. 253-258. although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds. 128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].

678 675 182 121 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 245 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists [626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates [177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

S
121 /402 cont./
178 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all
182 these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S
121 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always
178 prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S
[177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S
121 It would be very important from various points of view to define
177 the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different
178 levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S
175 Gradual liberation of the country.
177
121 It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It
G
175 no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.
648
922 Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

/409 cont./

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and intense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.